/468 cont./

565 but an admirable equality of rights and duties, as well as of prop-
567 erty and of work.

Various circumstances justify such inexistence of classes: 1st, it is a matter of numerically small groups; 2nd, the warm and humid climate, if it facilitates a supply of the necessary food at all /469/ times of the year, it does not allow an abundant pro-
[578] visioning and the development of riches. Now, where there are
• [692] no rich people, there are no classes, neither masters nor slaves; 3rd, the life in common, which the conditions introduced and tradition established; 4th, the fear of the envy that the well-being of one might cause in the others, and that so many times is manifested even in connection with the small inequalities (see V - 14); 5th, the lack of a tribunal to restore rights and indemnify damages.

3) Linguistic group.

a) Linguistic group.

619 Above the local Group, among the populations of the Amazonian Northwest, there is only the linguistic group. It is made up of several local groups, forming at times a total of thousands of individuals, with the following elements in common: 1st, they claim to be from one and the same tribe or nation and, therefore, consider themselves "brothers"; 2nd, they speak the same language; 3rd, marriage between them is definitely forbidden.

It is, then, a matter of an ethnic unit only. The groups that constitute it never gather together, they do not own property that might be said to be in common: house, land, fishing waters of such a tribe, etc. Because of the distances the relations between groups from different tribes are more frequent than between groups of the same tribe.

There is, then, no social or political organization of an entire tribe; and the elders do not recall of ever having heard of such an
[622] organization. There has indeed been some tuxaua with greater ascendancy and whom other tuxauas consulted and whose advice

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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the Tucano Indians of the Vaupés, succession was from father to son, while on the Aiarí it went from brother to brother (1909, I, 68). The Cubeo combine both methods. The tendency of the headmanship to stay within a lineage conforms to the natural tendencies of sons to model their behavior on their father, and for a group of brothers, who form among the Cubeo a particularly intimate sibling group, to share common interests. Thus, the men of a chiefly lineage behave with a greater sense of responsibility for the welfare of the sib; they follow the pattern of giving and act generally to maintain high morale. If the prospective heirs fail to live up to expectations they cannot succeed to the office. The office is not their automatic due, although coming from a chiefly lineage, their chances for the office are very much enhanced. Competition for the office is regarded as unseemly. Since the Cubeo are most sensitive in their distrust of the authoritarian personality, an overeager contender for the headmanship would most likely jeopardize his chances.

In the case of the headman who is known only as "owner of the house," the model of leadership is, as the title denotes, paternal. His warrant of office is that it is he who has built the maloca. A changeover in the headmanship comes with the building of a new maloca, when a headman has died or when the old maloca needs to be replaced either because of its deteriorated condition or because new manioc gardens need to be planted at a new site. On those occasions, the man who feels confident of his support undertakes to put up the main beams of the new house, with the help of his own brothers and of his sons. For the reasons already cited this man is most likely to be of a line of headmen. When the main posts are in place, the other household heads of the sib are invited to join in the work of completing the house. Those who join will be residents who accept the leadership and authority of the new headman. No man is compelled to join. He may declare himself an Independent, saying he will build his own house. The building of a maloca constitutes an election – one that occurs every five years or so, the period of duration of a house and of a manioc clearing. A headman who has grown unpopular will then find himself replaced, often by a brother or a son. It is as "owner of the house" that the headman is giver, guide, and keeper of order. He is in charge of the hospitality of the house, the receiver of guests, and the main organizer of drinking parties. He is responsible for ceremonies and for all ceremonial equipment, including tobacco, coca, and *mihi*. He is chairman of discussions and arbiter of disputes. He has no authority to order punishment, although his opinion as to punishment carries weight.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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No Cubeo headman has rights over person, over life, or over property.

Within the sib, the headman is the firm but gentle father, ever watchful of the welfare of his sibmates. There is, however, another side to the office. As representative of the sib within the phratry he is the organizer of drinking parties in which the prestige of the sib and his own prestige are involved. An ambitious headman urges his people to produce more chicha, to entertain often. His pressure may become burdensome on the people and his influence within the sib is, accordingly, jeopardized. The *habókü* with more commanding presence can push people farther, it is said, than the ordinary *kendmi upákü*. While drinking parties are enjoyed and sibs are conscious of their own heightened prestige as givers of chicha, they suspect that their headman is pushing himself forward too strongly and they resent it. To forestall such resentment a headman urges household heads to join as cosponsors of a drinking party.

The headman is charged with preserving the unity of the sib. While concern with personal prestige is not lacking, this consideration of his must be secondary to the welfare of the sib. He must prevent splitting of the sib. If a household leaves, the headman is blamed. He is blamed if sibmen's quarrels reach a dangerous point. When drinking parties erupt in violence the women taunt the headman with his inability to restore order. Yet in asserting leadership the headman dare not be too forceful. Father Giacone has observed about the Tucano Indians that they are docile. The same can be said of the Cubeo. A man will not, in fact he claims he cannot, resist a direct command. He will obey and be resentful. No householder who had unwillingly submitted to a headman's command would long remain in the sib. Moreover, the Cubeo do not easily tolerate social tension. If the atmosphere in the house becomes unpleasant someone will certainly move out. Men will not work, hunt, fish, or join in any collective undertaking if the atmosphere is not cordial. Maintaining this atmosphere is perhaps the most difficult charge upon the headman.

The headman who must deal with white tradesmen and with labor recruiters has the additional burden of representing his community against men of very forceful personality. He finds that he dare not submit to the common weakness of docility and must match their forcefulness with his own. A headman who has learned to deal with the white man on equal terms will tend to be more authoritative within his sib as well.

There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no